1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged between families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently successful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[a]

In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and productive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

793 **Ninth Chapter:** here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] these whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

●555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Inic chiconnauj capitulo: vncan motenoa yn quenjn motlalilia pepanaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quequetzalcoa, ynic ce totecu tlamacazqui, ynic vme tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cẽca muchipa ieboan quintlalia in vel ixtlamatque muzcalianj.

Auh in aquin vel quimonemilistia, y, yoan in oc cequi in jnnaoatil tlamacazque, yn jnnemiliz, ieboatl ano, ieboatl pepenalo, in teupixqui muchioa, quipepena in tlatoani yoã in tecutlatoque, yoan muchintin in tlatoque, Quitlatocaiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, ce itoca totec tlamacazqui, ce itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn quiiavitl, ynique, y, çan vel neneuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicentzacuj icnotlacazzintli, ynlitzin, ytatzin, intla ie vel quichioa, in jnnemiliz, yn jnnaoatil, tlamacazque ieboatl ano, ieboatl quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, aço totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemilizzli, vel ie motta, vel ie motemoa. in qualnemilice, in iecnemilice, in chipaoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoioyiollo, in tlapaccaihjoianj, in tlatepitzvianj, in tlaiolicvianj, in ãmo mocivianj, in iollochicaoac, in iolloetl, yn iollochichic, in tepepepetlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teltaoculianj, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlateumatini, in teuimacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in tlcicivinj;

Auh injc oalpeoa y, oc itoca tlamacazco, njman ie tlamacazqui, njman ic tlenamacac, ie mavizti, y, njman ic vncan ano, y, in mjtoa quetzalcoatl.

1. *"El nombre de Quetzalcoatl [sic] dado a entrar, es por memoria del dios que se consideraba por los mexicanos como el arquetipo del sacerdote"* (Cuev, *op. cit.*, p. 43). Interrelations obtain between these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in *ibid.*, pp. 47f.; see also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 178f. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, for which cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 195ff. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: *"Tenian un Becerro, en un Cementerio, que se llamaba del nombre de su Dios, Quetzalcoatl, el qual estaba siempre sobre su guarda, y doctrina, reformando lo relajado, y amonestando los sacerdotes, y hasiendo continuadores."*

2. The terms *el mexicanos* are used (pod) and *pio* (guard). Cf. Simeon, *op. cit.* The dictionaries define the terms as given.

3. *Tenohuanque*: Sahagún describes them as *"los mayores jueces . . . entre mexicanos eran gran diligencia los mayores que tenia a su cuenta"*; on the death of chiefs, they were among the electors of a new one (Sahagún, Bulmelo ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 76, n. 7.

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And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponja: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuciztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxquich inaquizquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in tetеu, tecpatica queltetequj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ic ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaquitia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaquitititiuj, in jnchan in jxqujnti, oiaumjquito, injc choquililozque in jnchachan, in oiaumjquito: ioan qujtecaquitia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oquichiotl: ioan qujmomaceujaia in jxquich iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotli necujltonolli, in maujziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamaque: iehoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onquiça in jmonextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iez in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac izque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 331-332, referring to the heroic of Cuauhtemoc, whose drawn knight and died in succhar: "Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitznahuac."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 20). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita, French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuaulnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371), "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-*701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-*565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-
"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave,
"they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much,
"that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had
"been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de
"Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées antrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient
"un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were
"called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If
"one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of
"it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been
"invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 260 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 109) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII. cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 82) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 505) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were [685] extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI. p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending orders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauhtin*," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 25), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them; "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

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701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, *the names given occasionally* being personal.[102]

701 554 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

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If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacateccatl," in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

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[102] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

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565 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[555] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] 553 *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 566): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Malordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 78).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-221). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mosuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientes y parientos del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos hombres tomaban de los idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 554 555 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecuhtli,")[167] which was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.[168]

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as traders.[169]

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "*officer*" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "sachem," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the former, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Inca of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knights," mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("*Histoire des Yncas*," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 63; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 65). With the Muyscas of Bogotá, compare *H. Ternaux-Compans* ("*L'ancien Cundinamarca*." § XXVII, pp. 87 and 88). *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXII. p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "*Histoire naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orénoque*," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1758, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 289-296). Very important.

[167] *Molina* (II, p. 96), "abuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecle," and only the later writers (those after the year 1560) begin to write it "tecutli," "tecuhtli," "teuctli." Whether the "teules" meant really "gods," or rather "tecuhtin," as plural of "tecutli," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Roman "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in QQuiché, "auau," old, "ahau,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahau,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

[168] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-333): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por si prendian cuatro cautivas, mandaba el rey que los cortasen los cabellos como á capitan, llamalbanle tal diciendo . . . . el capitan mexicati. ó el capitan tolnacacati, ú otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De alli adelante se podian sentar en los estrados que ellos usaban de petates é icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y Valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotes largos, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Tec Tecutacin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince"). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 473), and others.

[169] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 341): "Estos mercaderes

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In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self-control of the candidate to the severest tests.[179] Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

era ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique*," etc., 30 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 257). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Turc*," (1st "Recueil," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).

[179] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 478). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

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555 785 618 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music. The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel, and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 554 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 62, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonzo de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehominencia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni ván por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*." Parte Ia, Canto Iº. Edition of 1733, p. 9).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el dhado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tezcuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan.*" Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 98 and 99 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 98, p. 178, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," etc., p. 235). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies *Zurita*. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 128). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 48: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait